

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ISO-00 IO-11 ARA-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6727

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 STOCKHOLM 0644

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SW, AO, CU

SUBJECT: PRIME MINISTER PALME DISCUSSES SWEDISH POLICY TOWARDS
ANGOLA AND CUBA

REF: STOCKHOLM 0338

1. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN AN ARTICLE

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PUBLISHED IN A LEADING STOCKHOLM DAILY, DAGENS NYHETER ON FEB 4

SWEDISH PRIME MINISTER OLOF PALME SETS FORTH HIS VIEWS ON THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA. PALME REJECTS DEMANDS FOR DISCONTINUING SWEDISH ECONOMIC AID TO CUBA, DESPITE THAT COUNTRY'S MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA, ON GROUNDS THAT TO DO SO WOULD BE INCOMPATIBLE WITH A "LONG RANGE DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION POLICY." ALTHOUGH ACKNOWLEDGING THAT THE MPLA HAS RECEIVED "MASSIVE MILITARY SUPPORT" FROM THE USSR AND CUBA, THE PRIME MINISTER DISCOUNTS THE LIKELIHOOD OF ANGOLA BECOMING A SOVIET SATELLITE, AND TERMS PRESS DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MPLA AS "MARXIST AND PRO-SOVIET" AS "PROPAGANDISTIC SIMPLIFICATION." ARTICLE WAS UNDOUBTEDLY WRITTEN WITH PARTY'S LEFTWING IN MIND AND IN LIGHT OF FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS. ALTHOUGH CHARACTERIZED BY LEFTIST CANT, ARTICLE DOES NOT INDICATE ANY BASIC CHANGE IN SWEDISH POLICY OF NON-RECOGNITION OF MPLA. END SUMMARY.

2. PALME STARTS OUT HIS LENGTHY ARTICLE -- SIGNED BY HIM IN HIS CAPACITY AS PRIME MINISTER AND NOT AS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY CHAIRMAN -- DISCUSSING THE BACKGROUND OF SWEDISH TIES WITH AFRICAN "LIBERATION" LEADERS, POINTING OUT THAT IN THE 1950'S MANY OF THEM HAD VISITED

SWEDEN AND RECEIVED ASSISTANCE FROM THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC "SOLIDARITY FUND." ALTHOUGH THESE MOVEMENTS REPRESENTED "AFRICAN NATIONALISM," THEY WERE OFTEN DEPICTED IN THE PRESS "AS THE LONG ARM OF MOSCOW IN AFRICA," PALME CHARGES. ALL, HE CONTINUES, "ADVOCATED SOME KIND OF SOCIALISM, SINCE CAPITALISM -- LIKE COMMUNISM INCIDENTALLY -- SEEMS TO THEM TO BE ENTIRELY IRRELEVANT THEORIES, FOREIGN TO THE AFRICAN TRADITION." NOTING THAT IN SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES REPRESSIVE REGIMES HEADED BY MILITARY MEN EMERGED, THE PRIME MINISTER ASSERTS THAT SUCH REGIMES TENDED TO BE "MORE WESTERN ORIENTED, PARTLY BECAUSE OF THEIR MORE TOLERANT ATTITUDE TOWARDS MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS," ADDING IRONICALLY THAT UGANDA PRESIDENT AMIN WAS ONCE CONSIDERED AS THE "FREE WORLD'S MAN."

3. PALME DWELLS AT LENGTH ON HIS TALKS WITH VARIOUS AFRICAN LEADERS OVER THE PAST 20 YEARS, POINTING OUT THAT

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THEY HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY APPRECIATIVE OF SWEDISH POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT, AND "UNDERSTAND, ALTHOUGH THEY REGRET, OUR CATEGORICAL REFUSAL TO SUPPLY WEAPONS." WHILE THESE LEADERS, PALME CONTINUES, HAVE BEEN FORCED TO GET WEAPONS WHERE THEY COULD, INCLUDING FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA, "THEY HAVE ALWAYS STRESSED THAT THIS IN NO WAY REFLECTS A DESIRE FOR THEIR FOREIGN POLICIES TO BE DEPENDENT ON THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES OR THAT THEIR DOMESTIC

POLICIES WOULD BE ORIENTED TOWARDS A COMMUNIST TYPE OF SOCIETY."

4. CONCERNING ANGOLA, AFTER ASSERTING THAT "THE U.S. ENTERED THE SCENE EARLY BY GIVING AID TO HOLDEN ROBERTO'S FNLA," THE PRIME MINISTER DEPLORES PRESS DESCRIPTIONS OF THE MPLA AS "MARXIST OR PRO-SOVIET OR EVEN COMMUNIST," CHARGING THAT SUCH TERMS CONSTITUTE "PROPAGANDISTIC SIMPLIFICATION." HE ADDS: "HISTORICALLY SPEAKING, MARXISM HAD HAD LITTLE INFLUENCE ON AFRICAN SOCIALISM." ACCORDING TO PALME, IN THE FACE OF WESTERN DENIALS OF ARMS AID, THE MPLA TURNED TO THE SOVIET UNION, AND CONSEQUENTLY "HAS RECEIVED MASSIVE MILITARY SUPPORT FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA." HOWEVER, THE PRIME MINISTER DISMISSES THE POSSIBILITY THAT AS A RESULT OF SUCH AID ANGOLA WOULD BECOME A SOVIET SATELLITE, POINTING OUT THAT "THERE IS HARDLY A STATE IN AFRICA THAT AFTER HAVING RECEIVED SUBSTANTIAL SOVIET ASSISTANCE HAS BECOME A SOVIET SATELLITE."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 STOCKHOLM 0644

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

5. THE SWEDISH POSITION ON ANGOLA, THE PRIME MINISTER ASSERTS, IS "VERY CLEAR CUT: WE OPPOSE ALL FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANGOLA. THIS SHOULD CEASE. ANGOLA SHOULD BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME AN INDEPENDENT STATE, TO BE NON-ALIGNED, AND TO SHAPE ITS OWN SOCIETY. I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS IS IN LINE WITH THE AIMS OF THE MPLA."

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6. WITH REGARD TO CUBAN MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA, THE PRIME MINISTER ADMITS THAT CUBA HAS SENT "LARGE CONTINGENTS" TO THAT COUNTRY, AND ADDS THAT THE GOS IS CRITICAL OF THIS "AS WE ARE OF ALL OTHER FOREIGN INTERVENTION." HOWEVER, HE STRONGLY REJECTS ARGUMENTS ADVANCED BY THE SWEDISH OPPOSITION THAT SWEDEN SHOULD THEREFORE REDUCE OR EVEN ELIMINATE ITS AID TO CUBA. CHARGING THAT SUCH ARGUMENTS ARE "DANGEROUS" PALME NOTES THAT THE GOS DID NOT WITHDRAW ITS AID TO INDIA AFTER THAT COUNTRY EXPLODED A NUCLEAR DEVICE OR EARLIER WHEN IT WENT TO WAR WITH PAKISTAN. ACCORDING TO THE PRIME MINISTER, USING AID AS "AN INSTRUMENT OF SUDDEN PUNISHMENT OR AWARD TO BE WIELDED WHEN WE DISAPPROVE OR APPROVE OF DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF RECIPIENT COUNTRIES" WOULD BE "QUITE INCOMPATIBLE WITH A LONG RANGE DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION POLICY."

7. NOT CONTENT WITH THIS RATIONALE FOR CONTINUING AID TO CUBA, THE PRIME MINISTER ALSO ASSERTS THAT "MASSIVE" CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA STARTED ONLY AFTER SOUTH AFRICA HAD "SUBSTANTIAL ARMED FORCES" SUPPORTING UNITA AND FNLA AND THE LUANDA GOVERNMENT WAS FACING MILITARY DEFEAT. AS HE PUTS IT, "FACED WITH THIS SITUATION, THE MPLA SPEALED FOR MORE WEAPONS AND TROOPS FROM HAVANA." FURTHERMORE, HE NOTES THAT THE CUBANS SEE THE PURPOSE OF THEIR AID TO "ASSIST THE THIRD WORLD IN ITS STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM AND RACISM." FOR SWEDEN TO DISCONTINUE AID, HE ADDS, "WOULD BE REGARDED AS TYPICAL OF THE DESIRE

OF A RICH, WHITE NATION TO TEACH THE THIRD WORLD A
LESSON."

8. IN CONCLUSION, PALME INSISTS THAT THE ANGOLAN WAR "IS
NOT BEING WAGED BETWEEN THE 'FREE WORLD' AND 'COMMUNISM'".
IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEW, "IT IS A CONTINUATION OF THE
LONG STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION THAT STARTED 15 YEARS AGO,
AND IN ITS FINAL STAGE HAS TAKEN A TRAGIC COURSE OWING TO
INTERNAL STRIFE AND FOREIGN INTERVENTION," ADDING "IT IS
OUR SINCERE HOPE THAT THEY (HOSTILITIES) WILL SOON END --
AT THAT STAGE, SWEDEN IS LOOKING FORWARD TO BEING ABLE TO
(MAKE) CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION." END UNCLASSIFIED

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9. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL: COMMENT: THE LONG AND SOMETIMES
RAMBLING ARTICLE -- WHICH HIS OFFICE SUBSEQUENTLY
PUBLISHED IN AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION -- IS FILLED WITH
LEFTIST CANT AND REFLECTS PALME AT HIS IDEOLOGICAL WORST.
ALL OF THE TIRED, LEFTIST SHIBBOLETHS ARE TROTTED OUT,
EVEN TO BLAMING THE TRADIIONAL LEFTIST WHIPPING BOY.
THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, FOR REPRESSIVE MILITARY
REGIMES IN AFRICA. IN CONTRAST TO THE REALISM THAT HE HAS
SHOWN ON SUCH VITAL ISSUES AS PORTUGAL, TOWARDS AFRICA
THE PRIME MINISTER MANIFESTS HIS MAIVETE, INSISTING THAT
THE "LIBERATION MOVEMENTS," NO MATTER HOW HEAVILY
INFILTRATED OR EVEN DOMINATEE BY SOVIET COMMUNISM, ARE IN
NO DANGER OF A SOVIET TAKE-OVER. CUBAN DICTATOR FIDEL
CASTRO, DESPITE HIS OPEN SOVIET CONNECTIONS AND MILITARY
INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA, IS DESCRIBED AS A LEADER "IN THE
STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONALISM AND RACISM." IT SEEMS CLEAR
THAT THE SPEECH WAS WRITTEN WITH AN EYE TO THE SOCIAL
DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S LEFTWING. AND THE FORTHCOMING
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN MIND, PALME OBVIOUSLY WISHED
TO FEND OFF OPPOSITION CRITICISM OF GOS AID POLICY TO
CUBA.

10. HOWEVER, RHETORIC ASIDE, PALME'S STATEMENT REFLECTS
NO BASIC CHANGE IN GOS POLICY TOWARDS ANGOLA (REFTEL).
THE PRIME MINISTER EXPLICITLY REJECTS SENDING LARGE-SCALE
AID TO THAT COUNTRY UNTIL HOSTILITIES ARE OVER, AND HE
CALLS FOR AN END TO ALL FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA.
AND DESPITE VOICING STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE MPLA, HE
DOES NOT PROPOSE GOS RECOGNITION OF IT.

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CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

11. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION FROM THE POLITICAL
COUNSELOR, THE MFA OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS
(HEINEBACK) ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE STATEMENT
REPRESENTED OFFICIAL GOS POLICY TOWARDS ANGOLA
AND CUBA, ALTHOUGH HE ATTEMPTED TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN
THE EARLY PART OF THE ARTICLE DEALING WITH THE HISTORY
OF "LIBERATION MOVEMENTS" IN AFRICA, (WHICH HE DESCRIBED
AS PALME'S "PERSONAL THOUGHTS AND REMINISCENCES") AND
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THE LATTER SECTION DEALING WITH ANGOLA AND CUBA, WHICH HE SAID REFLECTS THE MFA POSITION. HE ADDED THAT IN ESSENCE, THE LATTER STATEMENTS WOULD COMPRISE THE GOVERNMENT'S ANSWER NEXT WEEK IN PARLIAMENT TO AN INTERPELLATION BY MODERATE M.O. ANDERS BJORCK CHALLENGING GOS ASSISTANCE TO CUBA WHILE THAT COUNTRY SENDS TROOPS TO ANGOLA. QUERIED ABOUT THE BASIS FOR PALME'S CLAIM THAT MASSIVE CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA TOOK PLACE ONLY AFTER SOUTH AFRICA HAD ENTERED THE CONFLICT WITH "SUBSTANTIAL" FORCES, HEINEBACK SAID THE OPERATIVE WORD HERE IS THE MODIFIER "MASSIVE" ADDING THAT GOS ACCEPTS FACT THAT SOME CUBAN FORCES WERE IN ANGOLA BEFORE MAJOR SOUTH AFRICAN ENTRY (WHICH HE CLAIMS TOOK PLACE IN AUGUST 1975) BUT BELIEVES THAT LARGE-SCALE CUBAN INTERVENTION OCCURRED ONLY IN THE FALL OF 1975. (EMBASSY WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING ANY INFORMATION DEPARTMENT HAS CONTRADICTING THIS AND OTHER POINTS IN PALME'S ARTICLE.)

12. IRONICALLY, THE PRIME MINISTER'S REJECTION OF THE CRITERIA OF A REGIME'S ACTIONS AND POLICIES AS A BASIS FOR DETERMINING WHETHER OR NOT TO EXTEND AID (IN THE CASES OF CUBA, INDIA AND ETHIOPIA), APPEARS TO BE AT VARIANCE WITH THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE GOS ONLY A FEW DAYS EARLIER WHEN IT VOTED AGAINST WORLD BANK AID TO CHILE.

13. ENGLISH TEXT OF ARTICLE BEING POUCHED TO EUR/NE FOR DISTRIBUTION.
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